New Strait-Jacket for Unions?—*Richard A. Lester*

THE Nation

January 17, 1953

Chiang's Troops To Korea?

AN EDITORIAL

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POINT 4

FOUR YEARS LATER

I. The Rich Got Richer

BY PAUL A. BARAN

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THE NATION IN 1953

An Announcement to Our Readers

WITH the start of 1953 *The Nation* is instituting a series of editorial changes which we believe will produce a more effective journal, as well as a more economical one.

Readers will already have noticed the creation of a group of Contributing Editors which includes, besides *The Nation's* regular correspondents abroad, Keith Hutchison, until recently our Financial Editor, and two eminent political scientists, H. H. Wilson of Princeton University and W. Macmahon Ball of Melbourne University. Other names will be added shortly.

We have also engaged Bruce Catton, journalist, historian, and former government official, to write a weekly series from the capital, beginning next week. The opening of the Eighty-third Congress and the advent of the new Administration call for the sort of reporting-in-depth that he is preeminently fitted to provide.

A resident of Washington for many years, Mr. Catton knows national and international politics both as an observer and as a participant. He began his newspaper career on the Cleveland *News* and *Plain Dealer,* later became Washington columnist for N. E. A. service, the Scripps-Howard feature syndicate. During and after World War II he served in an executive capacity on many government boards and departments. His most recent post was as assistant director of information in the Department of the Interior, under Oscar Chapman. "The War Lords of Washington," an inside story of the War Production Board, was published in 1948. His latest book, "Glory Road," is part of a trilogy he is preparing on the Civil War.

In addition to the weekly articles by Mr. Catton we shall publish occasional reports on special aspects of the new regime by William L. Shirer, famous correspondent and author of "Midcentury Journey," and by Carey McWilliams and Freda Kirchwey.

Beginning in a few weeks there will also be a new and different book section. In place of a number of long and short reviews we shall publish each week one major article on an important book or group of books by a leading critic. This will be supplemented by brief comments on other books worthy of attention. Our hope is to offer readers the best critical judgment available, while at the same time effecting economies in space and personnel—economies necessitated by the inflationary rise in production costs. While we are following no single model in reshaping the department, the change reflects a trend apparent in most of the serious publications. As a regrettable part of this change we must also announce that Margaret Marshall will no longer serve as Literary Editor. Miss Marshall has held that position for some fifteen years of the twenty-four she has been on the staff. Herself an able writer and discerning critic, she has been responsible for the integrity and high standards maintained by the book section. It is the firm intention of the Editors to preserve those standards.

Other plans have to do with *The Nation's* appearance. Without introducing any startling innovations we are preparing changes in paper and format which will make this journal handsomer, easier to read, and at the same time more economical of space. The redesigned *Nation* will be presented to our readers with the issue of February 21.

This is only a foretaste of our plans for 1953. Others will be announced from time to time.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Proposals for Peace—IV

BY BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

HITLER affirmed "the nothingness of the individual." Stalin sees man as but an incident in an inexorable historical process. Jesus of Nazareth believed every man is a being of infinite worth, created by the eternal and in his image, morally responsible. Out of the heart are the issues of life. The transforming power of the Christian religion must be brought to bear upon the human heart to the end that men may be motivated by love and dedicated to brotherhood. Statesmen give too much attention to the boundaries that divide, too little attention to the brotherhood that unites.

Peace cannot be built upon foundations of economic injustice. Positive programs of land reform designed to give the disinherited peasant ownership of the land are essential to peace. The democratic idea must live in the economic life if it is to be preserved politically.

The United Nations must be perfected. Loyalty to the United Nations must be developed, and those who would destroy it must be restrained. The idea of preventive war must be rejected. Concepts of absolute national sovereignty must give way to the idea of world law, democratically determined.

We must come into world affairs with clean hands. This means the end of all discrimination based on race or religion at home, and the constant support of human rights and basic freedoms in world affairs.

It is imperative that the number of private agencies, such as the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches and the Church World Service of the same organization, be increased to release the thought and the charity of groups other than government.

We must refuse to break the moral law upon grounds of military necessity, and must consider the relative worth of bases in Spain as compared—as Justice Douglas puts it—with "bases in the hearts of the common people." Decisions of statesmen must then recognize that God is the ruler of the universe, that he will not be mocked, that his law is relevant to all the activities of man.

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THE Nation

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Chiang's Troops to Korea?

PRESIDENT-ELECT EISENHOWER is being strongly urged to use Chinese Nationalist troops in Korea. The advice is reaching him from top military men who speak his language and who are presenting persuasive arguments in favor of the plan.

It might be a simple decision if there were not political and psychological factors involved. On the familiar pattern the multi-starred generals are thinking of more armed divisions without realizing there is another sort of division, which means dissension.

What Eisenhower does about the matter may be the first test of his caliber as President. It is an exercise in weighing possible military gain against probable political loss. One would normally expect men like Dulles, and other American diplomats, to approach a problem like this with a civilian mentality. But nowadays their attitude too often reflects a military point of view. The immensity of the Pentagon dwarfs the State Department.

There have been visible signs that activation of Chiang's forces on Formosa has been preoccupying Eisenhower. The American ambassador in nearby Tokyo, Robert Murphy, never saw the General during his Far Eastern mission. But Major General William Chase, chief of the United States mission in Formosa, was hurriedly summoned to Seoul from his post two thousand miles away to talk about the eventual disposition of the Chinese Nationalist forces. And after Eisenhower returned to New York, he consulted with Nationalist China's Foreign Minister, George Yeh.

What can be done with the Nationalist troops? Some say they should be sent against China's mainland, only a hundred miles across the Formosan Straits. Or part of them could be shipped to Korea. A third possibility is to use them to reinforce the French in Indo-China.

American and even Chinese Nationalist military men admit that the Nationalists are now wholly incapable of seizing a beachhead on China's mainland and holding it. Their forces are underequipped. Not a single unit has enough artillery to venture into battle. They lack the necessary landing craft. Above all, only by a miracle could they supply such a beachhead, even if it were established. Contained along the coast, they would present a completely exposed target for aerial machine-gunning and bombing.

Dispatch of Chiang's troops to Indo-China can also be ruled out in existing conditions. France, however gladly it would welcome reinforcements, would be the first to reject the offer. Such aid would only give the Chinese Communists a cogent reason for open intervention in Indo-China. That is what France dreads most.

Chiang's garrison on Formosa is a wasting asset. His 550,000 troops have been undergoing training there for more than thirty months. Their average age is twenty-nine; many are between thirty-five and forty-six. In another few years, as far as their combat value goes, they can settle down to playing Mah Jong.

Eisenhower knows all this.

THERE REMAINS the alternative of sending these forces to Korea. It is a tempting plan. Militarily, it has the advantage that supply lines are already operating in Korea.

This is known to be the view of American military leaders in the Far East. To make their project even more attractive to Eisenhower, they are suggesting that the Nationalist forces be sent to the front lines piecemeal, on rotation, so that eventually the whole Nationalist army in Formosa would be transformed into battle-hardened troops. This, they argue, would cause Mao Tse-tung to chew his fingernails.

If only these military considerations were involved, Eisenhower might have a reasonable case for accepting his colleagues' advice. Unfortunately, this military simplicity is heavily larded with political liabilities.

Chiang may be far less anxious than is popularly supposed to fight at all. He must realize that battle will cost him dearly in men. Besides the casualties, many might desert to the Communists, as they did by the hundreds of thousands in 1949. Where would he get replacements?

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The huge reservoir of man-power on China's mainland is inaccessible to him, even if one rashly assumed its sympathy for his cause. None of the millions of overseas Chinese have volunteered to join him. There remain, theoretically, the Formosans. In 1952, out of 90,000 Formosans who came of military age, Chiang conscripted only 12,000. Although of Chinese origin, these island people regard their present masters as alien and have shown no disposition to help Chiang reimpose his rule over China.

So if Chiang risks his troops in battle, it will be a one-time throw. Yet if Eisenhower wants them for Korea, Chiang is too dependent on America to say no. But he could say, "Yes, if . . ."

If his forces were used in Korea, he would almost certainly insist on having a voice in any future Korean settlement. He would demand arms not merely for his invasion troops but for his forces on Formosa. He would want jets, radar, anti-aircraft guns, to defend them against Communist air attacks. These are extremely costly weapons.

Chiang has already complained because he has been left out of the security pacts which the United States has signed with Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines. As President, Eisenhower might go some way to meet this complaint by de-neutralizing Korea and declaring it a kind of protectorate of American military power.

But it is doubtful whether Chiang's other terms would be acceptable. If President Eisenhower is actually to carry out some of the budget economies he has promised, he cannot increase expenditures enough to satisfy Chiang.

AS TO the political aspects of using Nationalist forces in Korea, the objections begin in Formosa and extend far beyond. They exist in Korea itself. President Rhee has denounced every suggestion of transferring the Chinese civil war to Korean soil. He distrusts the Chinese, be they red, white, or even yellow. He has hinted that it might be easier to bring the Chinese Nationalists into Korea than to get rid of them later. If his opinions are shared by South Korean troops, their morale would hardly benefit from the appearance of Chiang's forces.

Britain, France, and our other European allies are against infusing the Nationalists into the United Nations forces in Korea. Several nations fighting in Korea have declined to recognize Chiang's regime. They believe Chiang's participation would confuse our war aims and put an intolerable new obstacle in the path of an ultimate settlement. As they see it, Chiang has one fundamental objective: to return to China. That collides head-on with the United Nations' limited purpose of repelling Communist aggression in Korea. There is no common ground here. To identify the United Nations

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cause in Korea with the sweeping ambitions of Chiang, moreover, would reverse the drift of India, Indonesia, and Burma toward the non-Communist camp. They want no part of Chiang.

To many Americans and to almost all our friends abroad, a confusing of Chiang's objectives with those of the United Nations would mean an immensely extended war that could easily become a universal blood bath.

On the other side, there is a dangerous element in these calculations, and it is much closer home. That is the influence of the China Lobby and of the politicians on its periphery. Both Eisenhower and Dulles have close personal ties with the Knowlands, Hickenloopers, Judds, Luces, and their like. Any activation of Chiang Kai-shek's armed forces would receive the support of these powerful groups. It would arouse enthusiasm in an important sector of the Republican Party and enjoy the approval of some rightist Democratic leaders and independent publishers.

Eisenhower is expected to order swift preparation of a major offensive in Korea to break the stalemate. He will promote the training of yet more South Korean divisions, but this takes time, and it is an even longer process to qualify officers for the higher commands. It may seem alluring to use Chinese Nationalists in Korea because their training is far advanced. Their arrival might shorten the period of preparation for a northward drive. But if Eisenhower adopts this course, it will strengthen the growing belief abroad that military motives dominate America's foreign policy. It will discourage those who expect the United States to equate military power with economic, social, and political advancement. To employ some Chinese Nationalist troops in Korea could by no means be decisive, but it could alienate many of America's friends and buttress the alliance between Communist China and Russia.

In the vastness of Asia Chiang Kai-shek personifies a bygone age.

The Shape of Things

Enter M. Mayer

René Mayer, the new French Premier, has the reputation of being a "strong man" in the Radical Party. It will certainly require strength and determination to get the country out of the almost impossible situation brought about by the absence of a genuine and dependable parliamentary majority. Through concessions to the Gaullists involving the sacrifice of Robert Schuman, artisan of all the European unification plans, M. Mayer has assured himself at least a temporary majority. But the price will probably be a sharp break in the policy aimed at a federated Europe and a European army.

"The great operation upon which the right and center parties have now embarked," writes our Paris correspondent, "is to get the support of the Gaullists, who by changing their tactics and becoming a government party, or at least a supporter of right-wing governments, hope to improve their fortunes and gradually work their way into positions of authority." The conservatives for their part were naturally readier to make a deal with the Gaullists than with the Socialists. Following the trend initiated when the Communists and later the Socialists disappeared from the government coalitions, each successive Cabinet has been farther to the right than the one it replaced.

In the domestic field M. Mayer's first task will be to secure the adoption of the budget. He has already hinted at some reforms in the fiscal system but has wisely abstained from making the promises of a balanced budget that had proved fatal to his predecessor, M. Pinay. In his presentation speech he gave a new emphasis to the development of economic activity, which, coming from him, means greater profits rather than higher wages. A strengthening of the Socialist opposition can be anticipated.

Exit M. Schuman

In the domain of foreign affairs M. Mayer's accession to power and the disappearance of M. Schuman have shaken the Western world. In Bonn Chancellor Adenauer overnight lost his most valuable ally and has been forced to acknowledge that he must accept delay in the ratification of the treaty providing for the inclusion of German troops in a European army. In London the reopening of negotiations on the treaty is viewed with even greater concern in view of Schuman's removal. In Washington his loss was considered an American loss, the departure of a friend who had struggled hard and long for the sort of European unity that is now a major element of American foreign policy.

But it is the future of the European army, already behind schedule, that worries Washington most. Immediate efforts to salvage it are being made. Among them is the proposal of Field Marshal Montgomery, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, that the British government formally join the European Defense Community. Lord Montgomery undoubtedly believes that such a move would offset the harm done by M. Schuman's departure and M. Mayer's concessions to the adversaries of the European army. If the British come in, the French will not find themselves facing alone a Germany that is each day growing richer, stronger, and more pro-Nazi. The British Foreign Office lost no time in rebuking the Field Marshal, pointing out that he was expressing only his personal opinion. Just the same, the crisis in Nato will inevitably sharpen with time unless something is done to counterbalance promptly the effect of the French situation.

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Unbudgeable Budget?

After the election pathologically suspicious Republicans expressed two contradictory fears about President Truman's budget-making. Some thought he would seek to embarrass his successor by inflating it recklessly; others suggested he would slash it to the bone, forcing the G. O. P. to begin the new era by increasing appropriations. These fears have been proved as unjustified as they were ungenerous. Mr. Truman's last budget is quite unpolitical, and if the expenditure it envisages is very large, that is because, to quote the New York *Herald Tribune*, it is "the fiscal expression of policies that have been adopted by previous Congresses."

Actually, proposed expenditure for 1953-54 is almost $10 billion less than the total Mr. Truman asked for a year ago, a total which Congress, after much flourishing of verbal meat-axes, cut only by some $2 billion. However, largely because of lags in the placing and fulfilment of defense contracts, outlays this year are falling far below the original estimates, and as a result the expected deficit on June 30 will be under $6 billion. Next year, according to Mr. Truman's estimates, it will rise to $10 billion, assuming that the automatic tax cuts provided by existing laws are allowed to take effect.

Thus, to achieve its twin ambitions, a balanced budget and lower taxes, the Republican majority in Congress must carve at least $10 billion out of the proposed expenditure total. Since security programs account for 73 per cent of the whole, they will have to bear a large part of the cutting. But any major economies in this field will require much greater changes in defense and foreign policies than Mr. Eisenhower appears to contemplate. Indeed, such changes as he has hinted at—in the Far East, for instance—are apt to increase rather than decrease costs. We suspect, therefore, that when the dust settles, the main structure of the Truman budget will be intact.

Churchill's Visit

While no statement has been issued on the Eisenhower-Churchill talks, the British Prime Minister on arrival gave the press a good idea of the topics he was most anxious to discuss. He made it plain, for example, that he resented the repudiation of Roosevelt's promise to exchange information about atomic development and was going to press Britain's claims to be "a useful partner" in this field. He also referred to Britain's desire for "trade not aid," pointing out that this policy could not be implemented without a revision of American laws that hamper the entry of foreign goods.

But it was on the subject of the Far East that Mr. Churchill was bluntest and most communicative. He reiterated his well-known opinion that Western Europe is "the real center of gravity" and suggested that while stalemate in Korea was bad, "checkmate" would be infinitely worse. It would be "a great pity," he said, "for the United States and the United Nations army to wander about this vast China." Asked about continued British recognition of the Peking government, he hedged, saying that it was "a difficult question," but he added significantly a hope that the United States would "listen to the opinions we express."

Perhaps Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles proved good listeners. Many of their followers, however, appear deliberately deaf to any opinion that conflicts with their own congealed views. Thus David Lawrence in his syndicated column of January 6 accused Mr. Churchill of "ineptness" in his references to the problem of recognition, and of insulting the intelligence of American leadership by suggesting that extending the Korean war would mean sending American troops to the mainland. The sublimity of Mr. Lawrence's confidence on this point is equaled only by that of his lofty complaint that Churchill "is still following the Truman-Acheson line . . . unaware that it was repudiated in the recent election." That should put these British colonials in their place. George III, move over!

Dropping the Oil Suit

The Government's decision to drop any attempt at criminal indictment of the major oil companies on anti-trust charges came as no surprise to Washington. For weeks both the Defense and State departments had been generating tremendous pressures to this end. The decision, it is important to note, had nothing to do with the nature of the case against the oil companies, which is just as strong today as it was a month ago. (Indeed, the way is still open for the institution of a civil suit.) It was simply that the National Security Council, composed of the heads of key government departments, decided that criminal prosecution would endanger some of our oil supplies and would in general discourage private investment abroad.

It is known that extreme pressure is also being brought to bear upon the Truman Administration to get the Iran oil problem settled quickly. Iran and the anti-trust suits are not unrelated. The British are said to be willing to relinquish title to the Abadan refinery and to certain profits which they have been claiming from Iran, provided the oil suits are dropped and a monopoly is granted the major oil companies for the marketing of Iran oil. It may yet be that Washington's latest attempt to smash the existing cartel will end with the creation of a new one.

There remains the possibility that the new Administration will elect to proceed with a civil suit against the oil companies. But this too would have its irony, for it was these very oil interests that furnished a good part of the money which made possible the nomination and the election of our next President.

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POINT 4—FOUR YEARS LATER

I. The Rich Got Richer

BY PAUL A. BARAN

[*On January 20, 1949, President Truman presented Point 4 to Congress. Four years have passed, and now, on all sides, there is a hue and cry for a new foreign economic policy. "A new pattern for America's foreign-aid program and a new look at its foreign economic policy appear inevitable," writes Alfred Friendly in the Washington* Post. *"A new long-range foreign policy," says Winthrop Aldrich, our next ambassador to Great Britain, must be supplemented with a "dynamic economic strategy." What, then, has happened to Point 4? And what about the U. N.'s "Point Four," or technical-aid, program? In this article Paul A. Baran, a member of the Department of Economics of Stanford University, describes the "reinterpretation" of Point 4 now shaping up. Next week Peter Weiss will discuss the U. N.'s development schemes. In following issues W. Arthur Lewis and Stringfellow Barr will present proposals for another kind of Point 4.*]

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S announcement, in his 1949 inaugural address, of a "bold new program" of American aid to underdeveloped countries was a shrewd political move. It was calculated not only to give a "Fair Deal" touch to the rapidly unfolding foreign policy of the cold war, making it more palatable to progressive opinion both in this country and in Western Europe, but also to conjure up for the American business community a new vision of prosperity, just as the post-war boom was apparently drawing to a close. These considerations however, though important and urgent, were secondary. The main purpose of Point 4 was to counter Communist propaganda in backward countries with the prospect of economic and social development sponsored and generously aided by the United States.

The first objective was easily attained. Editorial writers and radio commentators were thrilled by the Administration's "imaginative" and "humanitarian" plan and talked and wrote about it so busily that they paid little attention to the State Department's flirtation with Franco, to American support of the French *guerre sale* in Indo-China, or to the rapid revival of fascism in West Germany and Japan. As a device for assuring prosperity, the proposal did not do so well. The recession of 1949 was short and mild, the international political scene was not conducive to much private investment abroad, and Wall Street accorded a rather sour reception to the idea of sinking large funds in underdeveloped countries. Nor was the chief purpose of Point 4 realized with any great success. Whatever propaganda value the program might have had was almost nullified by the magnetism of the victorious Chinese revolution and the United States' open alliance with the traditional colonial powers and native reactionary elements.

Under such circumstances not much enthusiasm for Point 4 was evinced by the policy-makers in Washington. The first Congressional appropriation for the newly established Technical Cooperation Administration did not exceed $34,000,000, and twenty-eight months later the London *Economist*—usually the State Department's most faithful friend on the other side of the Atlantic—noted that Mr. Truman's "bold new program" was "still being watered with little more than fine phrases and lavish promises." The situation was subsequently somewhat improved. For the fiscal year 1951-52 the Point 4 program got a larger appropriation, and for 1952-53 the amount, though about one-third less than the Administration requested, was still $137,000,000.

What is most important, however, is that this increased support for the Point 4 program is accompanied by a far-reaching "reinterpretation" of the nature and purpose of the entire undertaking. Indeed, altogether new wine is being poured into the old bottles, and it promises to be a much headier brew than that decanted in Mr. Truman's inaugural address. The first indication of what is to take the place of the President's noble promise to "supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies —hunger, misery, and despair," was conveyed in a report of the International Development Advisory Board entitled "Partners in Progress." This report, prepared under the direction of Nelson Rockefeller, takes a "realistic view" of the United States' interest in underdeveloped countries and frankly places "first things first." "Since three-quarters of the imported materials included in the stock-pile program come from the underdeveloped areas," it declares, "it is to those countries that we must look for the bulk of any possible increase in these supplies." A great number of commodities are involved. "Aside from minerals, important expansions are contemplated to increase our supplies of rubber, petroleum, fats and oils, and some basic fibers."

This theme has been elaborated and solidified in another document called "Resources for Freedom," prepared by the President's Materials Policy Commission

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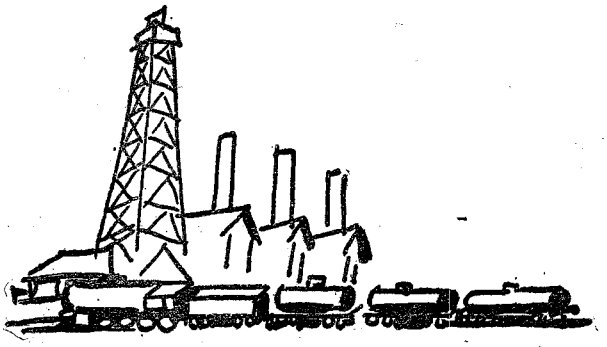

headed by William S. Paley. "The commission believes that the United States will find it increasingly worth while to turn abroad for more supplies of many basic materials, particularly minerals." Production of these materials must therefore be increased in the underdeveloped countries. And neither the Rockefeller nor the Paley report leaves any doubt about how this increase is to be obtained. "The production and distribution of goods and services is primarily a function of private enterprise, whether it involves food and manufactured goods to meet ever-growing civilian demand or whether it involves the production of strategic raw materials" ("Partners in Progress"). But although "private enterprise can and should continue to carry the major burden" ("Resources for Freedom"), it cannot be expected to carry it all. The government must step in and relieve private business of excessive responsibilities. Whenever outlays that are indispensable to the conduct of business are unattractive to private investors either because they would not be remunerative enough or would be too risky or too big, the government should pick up the check. In the words of the *Economist* (July 5, 1952) "a way has been found for the government to bear part of the burden in the name of national defense, which is the umbrella under which all those wanting subsidies now shelter from the storms of the free-enterprise system."

Spending on the Technical Cooperation Administration and on its Point 4 activities is thus given an altogether new significance. It is seen to be for the purpose of insuring a steady flow of strategic materials, smoothing the way for private enterprise, providing American corporations with free prospecting services of all kinds, saving them the "burden" of exploration, and financing undertakings that they find exceedingly useful but insufficiently profitable.

ONCE the principle of private profits but public losses is firmly established, the Rockefeller and Paley reports express profound solicitude for the health and happiness of the peoples inhabiting the underdeveloped countries. Indeed, as if to illustrate the astute observation of the *Economist* cited above, "Partners in Progress" proclaims that "an improvement in their living levels must be considered a vital part of our defense mobilization." Unless more food, more clothing, more medicine are supplied to the people in backward countries, the necessary expanded output of raw materials may be unattainable. It is needless to add that while appropriate investment in the nutrition and health of the natives of the "source countries" would be thus fully justified by "hard-headed self-interest," it is up to the government to provide what is required to support a reasonably efficient and contented labor force. As noted in "Partners in Progress," "the absenteeism on the Vitoria-Minas railroad was cut dramatically by effective malaria control. This has made it possible to reduce maintenance crews by one-third, which in turn has cut the cost of extracting and transporting iron ore and mica from the Rio Doce Valley."

Such expressions of concern for the welfare of the people only throw into sharper relief the nature of the entire program. While great pains are taken to prove that it is "vital" to the United States to obtain control of "the manganese and tungsten deposits of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, the chrome ores of Turkey and the Philippines, the timber stands of Chile and Brazil, the pulpwoods of Labrador" ("Partners in Progress"), little thought seems to have been given to the question whether such an arrangement would confer equally vital benefits on the people living in the backward areas.

It is undoubtedly true that exports of minerals and other raw materials could "provide the financial basis for a domestic development program" ("Resources for Freedom"), but the fact remains—though neither report mentions it—that none of the raw-materials-exporting regions have thus far been able to carry out any development program worthy of the name on such a "financial basis." The misery in the oil-rich and oil-exporting countries of the Near East is no less proverbial than the squalor, disease, and stagnation in cotton-rich and cotton-exporting Egypt, in sugar-rich and sugar-exporting Cuba, and in coffee-rich and coffee-exporting Brazil. The Paley report cites the prosperity of Venezuela as an example of the blessings that accrue to backward areas catering to the vital needs of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. But the less said about Venezuela the better. Harvey O'Connor's brilliant report on that country published in the July, 1951, issue of the *Monthly Review* reads like an account of conditions in India in the heyday of British domination:

> What has happened in Venezuela is a gold-plated disaster moving on noiseless oiled bearings toward tragedy. Its ancient, static, but self-sufficient economy has been tossed in the ash can. . . . When the oil runs out . . . the nation will be like an old tailors' chest filled with useless spangles. It was impoverished, disease-ridden, illiterate twenty-five years ago, and still is.

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Nor is it by any means fortuitous that even large revenues derived from raw-material exports do not stimulate economic growth. In most underdeveloped countries all or the bulk of these revenues are collected by a small group of big proprietors who use them for luxurious living or deposit them as capital abroad. The share going to the corrupt governments supports a parasitic bureaucracy and an overgrown military establishment.

Such economic development as takes place is of necessity lopsided. The raw-materials-producing enterprises form islands of advanced technology in seas of general backwardness. In these islands cluster a relatively small number of native workers, business men, and lobbyists. Only there does growth take place, and it resembles that of a cancer rather than of healthy tissue. It assumes mainly the form of bigger and better hotels and night clubs, of residential construction for foreigners and privileged natives, and of some industrial and commercial establishments serving this small élite.

FOR the raw-materials wealth of the backward countries to provide a basis for their economic development, it would be necessary for the extraction and marketing of the raw materials to proceed within the framework of a well-considered plan of general economic growth. Only by using the proceeds of their general exportation for the harmonious development of industry and agriculture, only by advancing from a raw-materials economy to a technologically and economically balanced processing economy, can the underdeveloped countries attain a decent level of productivity and welfare. They are not likely to attain it by being Mr. Rockefeller's "partners in progress" or by supplying Mr. Paley with "resources for freedom." They are not likely to attain it by paying, as they currently do, over 17 per cent per annum for such capital as is invested in their economies by American corporations.

The scheme of creating a raw-materials base in backward regions and reserving the role of industrial center to the mother country is by no means new. It may "work" for a short time; it is bound in the longer run to lead to increased misery and colonial revolutions. It is essentially inimical to the interests and aspirations of the people living in underdeveloped countries. It may be forced upon them with the help of the native upper classes and the *nouveaux-riches* of the raw materials booms; it will not be tolerated by them forever. More than a hundred years ago Lord William Bentinck, the governor general of India, reported to the British public:

> If security was wanting against extensive popular tumult or revolution, I should say that the Permanent Settlement, though a failure in many other respects and in its most important essentials, has this great advantage at least of having created a vast body of rich landed proprietors deeply interested in the continuance of the British dominion and having complete control over the mass of the people.

The fate of the Indian people under this "complete control" is well known. Is it the ambition of the United States to be able to boast about a similar success for Point 4?

The Future Comes to the South

BY ALFRED MAUND

Columbia, South Carolina

To the President of the United States, the Attorney General, and the Governors of those states where racial segregation is enforced by law:

WHEREAS, There are before the Supreme Court of the United States cases involving the constitutionality of enforced segregation in Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, and

WHEREAS, The decision rendered by the court will have great bearing upon the very existence of democracy within the boundaries of the United States, which must stand today as the democratic stronghold of the world, and

Whereas, We as youth will be vitally affected by this decision, and whereas equal opportunities which are fundamental to a democratic society cannot exist in a segregated system, and

WHEREAS, A segregated system is founded upon undemocratic laws, which are in antithesis to the substance and spirit of our Constitution,

We, delegates coming from forty-five colleges in seventeen Southern and border states and attending a Southwide conference on youth and racial unity through educational opportunity convened in Columbia, South Carolina, do hereby petition that you act immediately to eliminate segregation in education.

THIS resolution, after paragraph-by-paragraph discussion, was passed without dissenting vote by the 138 persons, white and Negro, attending the final session of the recent anti-discrimination conference at Columbia.

The conference was sponsored by more than five hundred outstanding Southerners and was arranged by

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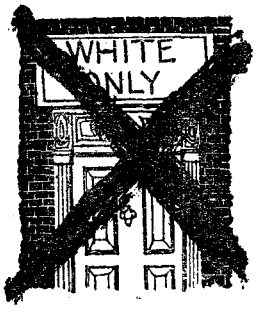
the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an organization with headquarters in New Orleans. Attendance was widely representative. Besides college students and teachers there were present, for example, a white business man from Savannah, the first Negro to graduate from the University of Arkansas law school, a white high-school girl from Louisville, the president of the South Carolina Federation of Labor, and a Negro Methodist bishop. All delegates paid their own transportation and other expenses.

The meetings were held at Allen University, a Negro institution in downtown Columbia. The delegates were housed in one of the dormitories, with the young men on one floor and the young women on another. "The dining tables," the Columbia *State* reported, "are non-segregated. Some of the white students have Negro roommates. There is an air of informality and friendliness about the place."



No one would have thought that Columbia was the citadel of James F. Byrnes. It outdid itself in hospitality. The mayor sent regrets that he could not attend the opening session. In his stead City Councilman Marion A. Park extended official greetings to the delegates. By informal arrangement the ordinance forbidding whites and Negroes to ride together in a taxicab was suspended. The city's two newspapers, the *Record* and the *State*, were impeccably fair and thorough in their coverage. Radio station WMSC broadcast transcriptions of the opening session and of interviews with Dr. James A. Dombrowski, director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and Dr. William Marshall, president of Wayland Baptist College in Plainview, Texas. A party, with dancing and games, was given for the delegates at a U. S. O. hall.

Only one small incident occurred; and it ended happily. Some twenty delegates who arrived before eating facilities were available at the university went to a Negro restaurant in the neighborhood to get supper. The white proprietor sent word by the Negro waitress that he could not serve a mixed group. So the delegates started to walk out and were followed by a number of other customers who apparently held similar views. The proprietor then reconsidered, and the group was served without more ado.

The conference rewarded Columbia's hospitality by discussing the issues before it with the greatest moderation and seriousness. There was no posing or bragging, although the gathering was probably the first of its kind ever held in South Carolina. In panel discussions which covered every aspect of racial relations—school, home, church, industry—participants stressed both the lag and the promise of their home states. No one presumed to know exactly what would happen if segregation were outlawed, but all agreed that present progress and the needs of the future made that step immediately desirable and, indeed, inevitable.

The principal speakers emphasized the careful planning that would be necessary if legalized racial integration led eventually to the disappearance of race as a competitive and socially exclusive factor. Dr. Marshall described the steps he took to induce the Wayland board and student body to accept Negroes. Dean James P. Hupp of West Virginia Wesleyan College, who initiated integration there, discussed ways of leveling psychological barriers. Aubrey Williams, the Alabama publisher and writer who is president of the S. C. E. F., and Dr. Herman H. Long of Fisk University warned that court and legislative battles must be continued even if we are so fortunate as to get a good decision from the Supreme court." A campaign for tenure laws to protect the rights of Negro teachers in any merger of school systems that might take place was strongly urged.

The awareness and reasonableness of the young people were wonderful to behold. Although many were active members of church groups or students at church-supported schools their thoughts ranged far beyond sectarian lines. When the conference was asked to approve a section of a panel report urging that "personal behavior" be made "more spontaneously Christlike" the word "Christlike" was challenged as being possibly offensive to non-Christian groups both in the United States and abroad and was amended to "moral." A report pointing out the need for more social contact between the races if integration of schools was to work smoothly stated: "The principal means of contact is through the church." This was contested because it might be construed as advocating church intervention in state affairs. It was amended to: "A principal means of contact is through religious groups."

I went down to Columbia with some misgivings. The meetings had been widely announced. The prophets of doom who say the end of segregation will mean blood flowing in the streets had ample opportunity to make the gathering prove their thesis. Perhaps old Bishop Richard Allen, who a century ago broke with the Methodist church because of its segregation policies, interceded in heaven for the university named after him. All of us were certainly sustained by the thought of the countless persons in the South who have taken a resolute stand for decency and reason. I left Columbia feeling that I had seen the South's future—and that it worked.

ALFRED MAUND is on the staff of the Louisville Courier-Journal. *He has made a special study of the economic and racial problems of the South.*

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What Germans Talk About

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

DURING the last few months I have been lecturing in West Germany on American foreign policy in Europe and on the present armament economy. My audiences—in Hamburg, Munich, and Frankfurt, in Cologne and Düsseldorf, in the Ruhr and the Rhineland, in Berlin—included chambers of commerce, trade unions, Socialists, liberals, university and middle-class groups. This experience taught me, first, to what an amazing extent the world has become homogeneous, since I could give the same talks in any German city that I had given in New York and Chicago; and, second, that Germans of all sorts in every part of the country are interested primarily in problems of foreign policy. An extended question period followed each lecture, and the discussions were long and spirited.

It is easy to understand why foreign policy is the first concern of most Germans. Everyone feels the presence of the occupation forces and wonders how long they will stay. In addition, Germany's geographical situation between the two great power blocs makes the importance of its international relations very clear. Thus discussion centered in the question: Will there be a war and if so when? No one wanted war. Over and over again people said that the results of another war, especially for Germany, would be so frightful that they could not even be thought about. In this context one question was invariably raised: Why haven't the Russians already launched a war?

A handful of those who contributed to the discussions argued that the Russians were peace-loving, or that they knew the horrors of war from experience. In Munich some of these belonged to Communist groups; the majority were members of the Bavarian trade unions. Other trade unionists, supporters of Adenauer, would retort: "Those are just empty words that you don't even believe yourselves." Just once, at a meeting in the Rhineland, a man declared that the Russians were deterred from starting a war by the NATO divisions stationed in Europe. Everyone laughed at him. But many said that the Russians did not want a war because they were afraid that their cities would be atom-bombed. Almost invariably someone would then ask why, if that were true, the Americans were pushing so hard for European and German divisions, which would not be needed if the threat of the bomb were sufficient. Some said that the Russians were having difficulties with their satellites and could not risk a war in Europe until their empire was consolidated. Another frequent contention was that Moscow did not need a war to gain most of its objectives in Europe; the differences among the European nations were so great that the Russians would eventually profit from them. Speakers generally agreed that if the Russians did not start a war in 1952, they were not likely to do so in 1953 or 1954. The consensus was that although Russia is rearming on a tremendous scale, America is building up its defenses much faster.

It was emphasized time and time again, by white-collar groups as well as workers, by students and middle-class audiences, that the Russians were not political hysterics like Hitler but coldly calculating men. In 1948, when Soviet authorities sought to seal off Berlin, and again at the beginning of the Korean war many Germans had been afraid that the Russians might launch an attack on West Germany any day. But since the rearming of Germany had been planned, this fear had vanished. Germans in all walks of life seemed convinced that the Russians would not wage war in the near future.

The question of what America would do after 1954, or whenever its arms output equaled Russia's, was frequently raised. As long as Germany's own military preparation was not brought into the discussion, there was usually some measure of agreement that it was better for peace if neither power bloc had military superiority; therefore all speakers—except the Communists, of course—favored America's rearming rapidly enough to close the gap between the two countries.

But what would happen when an approximate military balance had been attained? Some thought that the United States would have to reach an understanding with Russia. Others, particularly Socialists and trade unionists, asked if there was any guaranty that the Americans would stop rearming once they had caught up with the Russians? After all, the United States produced three to four times as much steel as the Soviet Union. If there were no war, it might end by outarming the Russians. Middle-class spokesmen usually thought this unlikely, arguing that the American people were known to be anti-militarist and would not support such a policy in peace time. Socialists and workers would reply that this was true only on the assumption that American prosperity continued: if a severe depression occurred after 1954, America, they believed, might step up its rearmament program. To which their middle-class opponents would

FRITZ STERNBERG is the author of the widely discussed book "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial," which came out in this country at the beginning of the year. It is soon to be published in France, Yugoslavia, and Japan.

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answer that the Russians had predicted a depression in the United States right after the war but it had failed to appear. They had again expected it during the first phase of the Marshall Plan, and again it had not materialized. Moreover, America now had government agencies prepared to counteract depressions as it did not have in 1929. They therefore discounted the danger that the United States would increase its military expenditures in order to avoid or cure a recession.

RATIFICATION of the treaties which provide for a German army was discussed at every meeting. In Berlin, where the situation is different from that in the rest of West Germany, military revival is favored not only by the middle class but also by a large majority of the trade unionists. The fight against the Russians and the Communists is so much part of everyday life in West Berlin that most factions accept the idea of a German army within the framework of the Atlantic Pact. In the rest of West Germany middle-class representatives in Parliament are in favor of the army; the Socialists are opposed. The trade unions have not yet taken a clear stand, but many of their members are against the idea. These divergent views were reflected in the discussions that followed my lectures. The middle-class position is that in the world today power politics prevails, and this means military power. If Germany is to regain its independence, it must be armed; and if the Americans favor a German army, they should be supported.

The Social Democrats are absolutely opposed to the Soviet regime and advocate the military defense of West Germany in case of Russian aggression. However, for reasons of internal politics they regard the creation of a German army as a grave danger, to be accepted only if absolutely necessary. Since Russia, in their opinion, is unlikely to attack in the near future, the need of an army is not urgent. Meanwhile they are fighting for control of the government. They do not expect to win a majority in next summer's elections, but they hope to make large gains and thus become an integral part of the government. If the government begins to build an army between now and then, the Social Democrats fear that internal politics will veer sharply to the right.

An additional argument against remilitarization phrased by Socialist intellectuals was that Germany would be in a weakened condition for a long time, and that a weak democratic state would not be the master of its army but would be ruled by it. With old and new Nazi officials in high posts, this army-dominated West Germany could play an ominous role in Europe. In that case the United States might be prodded by the Germans to extend its own rearmament program beyond 1954, until it had attained clear-cut military superiority over Russia, and then demand that Germany be unified. If the Russians refused, the Americans might threaten war. But if the Americans did not insist on unification, then Germany might change fronts and join with Russia.

It is an interesting comment on the present world situation that when the question of ratifying the German treaties came up in the British Parliament, the arguments presented and the misgivings expressed were very similar to those voiced by German intellectuals.

In other countries rearmament is generally considered in relation to the social sacrifices it entails, but in the talk I heard this aspect was subordinated to the effect of rearmament on German unification. Many middle-class and intellectual groups without definite political affiliations opposed the creation of an army on the ground that, at least for the time being, it would rule out unification; in fact, it would widen the split between East and West. Why, they asked, should Russia give up Eastern Germany if it received no reward? A frequent argument was: The creation of our army means that twentieth-century Germany will meet the fate of Poland in the nineteenth century.

IN WEST GERMANY today the Social Democrats have the backing of the vast majority of organized and unorganized labor. The Communists, outnumbered seven or eight to one by the Social Democrats, have become a mere sect because they are identified with the Soviet regime. The experiences which German residents have had with the regime in the eastern zone and in the eastern sector of Berlin cannot be concealed; those who leave the areas spread the facts.

In the Ruhr and the Rhineland I frequently talked before hundreds of workers who had come directly from the factory. More than once a man stood up during the discussion period and said that the standard of living in West Germany and West Berlin was much higher than in Eastern Germany. Men who had at one time worked in the eastern zone would confirm this. At one meeting a worker of about fifty took the floor and said that while that might be true, it was not the main thing. He was a skilled metal worker, he said, who had formerly worked in Saxony. He had now been in West Germany for six months, had been unable to find a job in his own field, and was earning at other work only 90 per cent of what he had got in the eastern zone. Yet although he was worse off financially, he had never considered going back, for when he attended a meeting like this he could be sure that his wife and two children were still at home and had not been arrested, and if he participated in the discussion as he was doing now, he did not have to fear that the police would spirit him away. As a rule the applause was perfunctory when someone made a speech in the discussion period after my lectures. This time, however, it was vigorous and spontaneous; the man had said what they all thought.

One question frequently asked in academic circles

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was: Can Germany regain its sovereignty in a world where all Western Europe, and England as well, is becoming more and more dependent on the United States, economically, militarily, and politically? Everyone agreed that political independence did not simply happen, that it must be fought for, but opinions differed as to means. Some intellectuals said that Germany could become a sovereign state only by remaining aloof from both the United States and Russia and pursuing Talleyrand's policy of playing one big power against the other. The Socialists said there could be no pact with Russia and that Germany could grow more independent of the United States only by developing a democratic planned economy integrated with that of Western Europe.

New Strait-Jacket for Unions?

BY RICHARD A. LESTER

EACH time a crippling strike takes place, employer groups revive the union-fragmentation scheme, which failed of approval in the Eightieth Congress by only one vote in the Senate. In the last Congress many Republicans and Dixiecrats sought some means of breaking up nation-wide unions and putting them under anti-trust control—the Gwinn bill would have banned industry-wide strikes; the Lucas bill, bargaining with more than one company or local group. Before Congress adjourned in July, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Senator Taft was considering introducing in the next Congress a new "anti-labor-monopoly law."

Although state experience with laws against strikes on utilities shows that proper provisions for seizure can protect the public against paralyzing stoppages, there is no basis for the belief that breaking up the national unions would solve the problem of strikes creating a national emergency or cure monopolistic practices in the purchase and sale of labor. Fragmentation is rather an artful scheme to entangle unions in legal red tape and to weaken organized labor by forcing it into uneconomic units and destroying loyalties that extend beyond the individual company or locality.

The campaign to sell the proposal to the American people has been marked by misuse of terms, misleading analogies, ambiguity, and astounding ignorance of labor organization and history. Company negotiation to establish wage patterns and union action to enforce them are miscalled industry-wide bargaining, which is indeed rare in manufacturing industries in this country. The principal industries in which it is found are men's clothing, pottery, and pressed and blown glassware, and these have been strike-free for fifteen to fifty years. In steel, bargaining has been on a company basis, although at times of deadlock and government intervention the large companies have united in the presentation of their case. In bituminous coal, agreements have been and are now reached by separate regional negotiations and not by one industry-wide bargaining conference.

Advocates of partition contend that the federal anti-trust laws limiting business practices should be balanced by an anti-trust law applicable to labor. This argument, however, disregards the fact that employers have not been subject to the federal anti-trust laws with respect to the purchase of labor services; they have, in fact, freely cooperated and colluded on wages and hiring through personnel associations and management meetings. Moreover, under the Taft-Hartley act all secondary boycotts —really sympathetic strikes—are declared unfair labor practices and made subject to damage suits. Inter-company cooperation to defeat a strike is not similarly proscribed by Taft-Hartley.

Even Senator Taft has recognized that the federal anti-trust laws are not well designed for application to labor. Prosecution of unions under anti-trust legislation is certainly not the road to constructive labor relations. Only a person without experience in industrial relations would maintain that union rivalry has beneficial consequences for the public and exchange of information among companies or local unions injurious ones.

Proponents of partition fail to explain how single-firm bargaining would prevent disrupting strikes, given large materials producers like United States Steel, the Aluminum Company of America, and Kennecott Copper; certainly it has not stopped the spread of strikes from one firm to another in the past. And they disregard the fact that the elimination of monopolistic buying and selling of labor services would require truly revolutionary changes in the structure of American industry as well as in that of unions. It could probably be achieved only by compulsory central hiring of all labor through a single community employment exchange, modeled after stock and commodity markets; only thus could assurance be given that no buyer or seller would handle more than a minor fraction of the total hirings of a given type of labor in a locality.

Nor has any attempt been made to answer the many other questions and objections that have been raised.

RICHARD A. LESTER is chairman of the Department of Economics of Princeton University and author of "Labor and Industrial Relations."

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The proposal for autonomous company and local unions is offered as a simple reform that could be realized without too much difficulty. Its advocates fail to state, or perhaps even to realize, that their program would mean the practical destruction of craft unionism, the transformation of the two hundred-odd national unions into ineffectual federations that would duplicate present A. F. of L. and C. I. O. set-ups, the compulsory severance of long-standing institutional and personal loyalties, and the enforced isolation of the parts of a movement with fifteen million members and a hundred and fifty years of militant tradition. It is like proposing to carve up the Presbyterian or Catholic church into local units which shall remain separate and autonomous.

TO BE logical and defensible, the program would have to be accompanied by a thoroughgoing dissolution of large firms and employer associations and enforced independence of the severed parts of company or personnel organizations. And in slicing up industrial combinations, account would need to be taken of the appropriateness of each segment as jurisdiction for a union. It has repeatedly been emphasized by labor experts that little more reason exists for unions to be cut up according to the odd assortment of activities in which many multiplant companies are engaged than for a company to be restricted in its operations to the jurisdiction of an individual union. To insist that the unit of organization of a company and of a union should be identical is to ignore their different needs and historical development; the most economical and effective unit for business purposes may be completely inappropriate and unsatisfactory for the activities of a labor organization.

Company unionism of this type would generate industrial strife and raise problems of enforcement that stagger the imagination. By creating a fundamental threat to union existence, it would make union security a major issue throughout the economy for an indefinite period. Severance of long-established institutional ties and enforced autonomy of the pieces would require artificial barriers to communication between union officials and federal policing of a union's internal affairs.

One cannot but wonder why such a naive and obtuse proposal, with its revolutionary implications for the structure of industry and for labor relations in this country, should find ready acceptance in certain business quarters. Is it because many industrial leaders still hanker for the company-union era of the 1920's? Is it because they hope to entangle organized labor in new legal difficulties even at the risk of additional restrictions on industry? Is it because a propaganda campaign against "labor monopoly" and "industry-wide bargaining" is useful in obfuscating issues and forcing labor into a defensive position? Or does it simply reveal mental rigidity and lack of constructive ideas at a time when we need a new approach to the problem of industrial disputes?

A constructive program to protect the country against crippling strikes should have high priority in the next Congress. State experience with utility strike legislation offers a basis on which to build. Virginia, for instance, provides penalties for both parties in case of stalemate and state seizure; such a provision makes it unattractive for either side to block a settlement. If Congress is not sidetracked by debate of whimsical ideas for institutional reconstruction, the prospects are good for the adoption of legislation that is fair and that contains real incentives for the two parties to reach workable solutions to their differences.

TV's Brave New Experiment

BY SAUL CARSON

TELEVISION has brought us the biggest jackpot yet offered on the air waves. It is a $2,000,000 prize, put up by the Ford Foundation. The value immediately obtainable, for the mere twist of a television dial, is an excellent program. But at the end of the rainbow are possible rewards far outweighing present benefits. The distant goal is nothing less than curtailment of the advertiser's role, which since the days when "The A. and P. Gipsies" first wowed American radio listeners has infused so many programs with mediocrity out of concern for the lowest of all possible common denominators and inured an entire generation to the vulgarity of the pitchman's taste.

This venture of the Ford Foundation's TV-Radio Workshop is centered in a video program that may be seen any Sunday afternoon on sets tuned to one of at least fifty-one stations hooked up with the CBS-TV network. The name of the show is "Omnibus." It is an outsize show, big in every respect. In its ninety minutes —a very large slice of "peak-period" time—it brings the viewer famous performers projecting drama, poetry, dance, music, with a good deal of dazzling glamour and considerable sheer pretentiousness. But the important thing is its promise to show broadcasters the advantages of freedom from advertisers' control.

SAUL CARSON has been a radio and TV critic for many years. He is now writing for both mediums.

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Curiously enough, the revolt against advertisers' influence is being carried on with the help of the advertisers themselves. The maximum of five sponsors has been signed up, and the lucky ad men—they were literally standing in line to buy in!—are handing over $25,000 apiece each week for a program bought blind.

The sponsors have absolutely nothing to say about format, content, or any of the details of production. These matters are the concern of the TV-Radio Workshop, and no one's money can make the slightest difference. The sponsor who buys "Omnibus" must forget the old convention that the huckster who pays the bills gets a blank canvas to decorate or deface at will. Broadcasters never had any business relinquishing program control; the legal responsibility as licensees is theirs, and so is the moral obligation. They abdicated their trust when they permitted advertisers to run programs, thus opening the way to the vapidity of so much of our radio fare. Now the Ford Foundation, without lecturing or scolding, is doing something about the situation. It has bet $2,000,000 that an established trend can be reversed. From this viewpoint alone "Omnibus" is an experiment worth watching. It must of course build audience popularity or find itself bogged down in futile if well-intentioned philanthropy. So far "Omnibus" has stayed on the road.

FROM the beginning the Ford people discarded several of the hobbles that advertising had imposed on programming. One was strict adherence to a schedule of quarter-hour periods. Because time must be found for commercial plugs, a play or an act must be fitted to the fifteen-minute framework, cut if necessary, padded when short. "Omnibus" dispenses with such artificiality. On its debut, November 9, and again two months later, time was found for a "spot" that took exactly two minutes, all that was needed for a movie of the new X-ray films. If a drama needs twenty-two minutes, or forty minutes, the time is there. On February 1 the entire ninety minutes, with time out for commercials, will be given over to the Metropolitan Opera Company's studio production of the Garson Kanin–Howard Dietz version of "Die Fledermaus."

Another traditional practice from which "Omnibus" has freed itself is that of sticking largely to one or the other of the usual modes of television production—films or live studio performances. "Omnibus" lets the subject matter, not the budget or convenience, determine whether a number shall be transmitted directly from the studio or by film.

James Agee, co-author of John Huston's much-praised movie "The African Queen," wrote for "Omnibus" an affecting and highly poetic drama called "Mr. Lincoln." It was necessary to film the play, both because its length exceeded the ninety minutes allowed and because the script called for camera shots on location in the scenes of Lincoln's youth. Louis de Rochemont was hired to make the movie and did a superb job. On television "Mr. Lincoln" has been divided into five parts, the running time ranging from twenty-five to forty minutes.

Maxwell Anderson has written three original plays for "Omnibus"; William Saroyan, six. Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer starred in the first of the Anderson plays, "The Trial of Anne Boleyn." Helen Hayes and Burgess Meredith gave emotional intensity to the second of the Saroyan plays.

There has been some excellent ballet. Several numbers were filmed for the program in Paris by Jean Benoit-Levy, producer of the pictures "Ballerina" and "Maternelle." The music department is particularly strong. Helen Hayes has given a reading to the music of Ravel's "Mother Goose Suite." A film made in Finland has brought us Sibelius. Stokowski has presented Moussorgsky; and other Stokowski numbers are in the works.

Science is not being overlooked. Among the films to be shown will be some made at medical-research centers, some at large industrial plants, a few at museums and zoos. In the documentary field a film showing the work of a tugboat captain in New York harbor was a failure. But some slips must be expected.

Alistair Cooke, chief correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* in the United States, who acts as master of ceremonies, is an urbane man with a keen sense of humor and the ability to interpret what he perceives, but "Omnibus" does not give him the chance to do much more than explain the meaning of its title. Left to himself, Cooke could do much better and could pull the program together on days when it threatens to disintegrate into a potpourri.

The program could and should be a laboratory for new writing. There is safety in relying on Saroyans and Andersons, but it would be bolder to seek out and help develop fresh and brave television authors. "Omnibus" could also afford more technical experimentation, especially in music and the dance. I think it might even now and then venture into straight educational fare and show tomorrow's educational-TV broadcasters what can be done with ample resources.

Since "Omnibus" is likely to be with us a long time, the defects may eventually be ironed out, the gaps filled in. The $2,000,000 earmarked for the program was just about enough money to keep the show rolling for twenty-six weeks—without sponsors. But after nine weeks on the air five had boarded the bandwagon. What they pay covers not only the time cost ($60,000 a week) but the show's entire budget. Thus "Omnibus" will hardly have to touch its principal and will be able, perhaps, to turn some of its money back into other productions by the TV-Radio Workshop. The program may usher in a new tomorrow in television.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

ARTISTS AND GONDOLAS

BY DOROTHEA S. GREENBAUM

WE MET in the Palace of the Doges on a mild autumn morning. There Unesco's director general, Jaime Torres Bodet, welcomed us and asked us to "investigate the practical conditions for the freedom of the artist in contemporary society and to discover ways of associating creative artists more closely with the work of Unesco." That afternoon we moved across the Grand Canal to the island of San Giorgio. And more than four hundred artists sat down together to start a week's discussion.

This was the International Conference of Artists sponsored by Unesco and held in Venice September 22 to 28—the first international meeting of artists. The arts were the theater, literature, music, architecture, painting, sculpture, and the cinema; forty-three member nations and international associations sent representatives.

There were silks from the Far East, leather jackets and beards from Australia and Israel, black vestments and fuchsia birettas from the Vatican State, and the high stiff collars of the French lawyer. There were people wearing rows of medals, pushing into every photograph, some with selling schemes, others handing out national propaganda. And there were men and women of prestige—Jules Romains, Henry Moore, Gabrielle Mistral, Le Corbusier, Jean Lurçat, Jacques Villon, Idelbrando Pizzetti, Arthur Honegger, Francesco Malipiero, Marino Marini, Marc Connelly, Roberto Rossellini, Stephen Spender, Graham Sutherland, and many others.

We met in the Cini Foundation, that beautiful monastery designed by Palladio; flying angels on the painted ceiling peeked through the materials draped across them in a vain effort to control the blaring sound waves from the loud speakers.

The United States delegation consisted of Thornton Wilder, theater, who was chairman; Allen Tate, literature; William Schuman, music; Valentine Davies, cinema; Ralph Walker, architecture; and George L. K. Morris, painting. I represented sculpture. Henry Billings was on the organizing committee of the conference.

We arrived with high hopes and sharp pencils, eager and business-like, impatient of delays. We met at 8:15 every morning, and our smoke-filled room was the sunny terrace of the hotel where we breakfasted. We talked over our ideas. Then we went to the conference.

There was something for everyone: for the idealist, addresses on respect for the dignity of man, on the need for collaboration among architects, painters, and sculptors, on the artist's place in society, on the formation of an International Council of Arts and Letters; for the practical artist, discussions of his relations with dealers, critics, the public, and fellow-artists; of the difficulty of obtaining studios and contracts; of removal of custom barriers, and many other concrete subjects. Good solid fare.

But thanks to a fine disregard for the agenda in the conference as a whole and in the various sections of it, subjects and suggestions were lost in a torrent of generalizations. This was particularly true of the Visual Arts Committee, an unwieldy body composed of architects, painters, and sculptors. The smaller committees fared better.

The French were determined and voluble. Their long domination of the art world made them impatient of any opposition, and we felt a disturbing resistance to our delegation. They and the Italians were solidly behind the creation of an International Council of Arts and Letters. Great Britain, the United States, and many smaller nations insisted that the money needed to support another international organization could be used for more direct benefits to the artists.

The confusion was hard on artists, who, as Thornton Wilder put it, "spend their days in making the ideal concrete," and especially hard on the sculptors, those tough-muscled, grubby-handed people, part plumber and part gardener, whose brains are in their finger tips and who cannot believe in anything they cannot touch. The exception was Henry Moore, whose paper was one of the high points of the week.

The difficulties were legion: bad acoustics, the difference in language, the lack of a common parliamentary procedure and of proper clerical service, which led to much misunderstanding. Italy's chivalrous desire to honor old age resulted in the appointment of men of unquestioned distinction but totally unqualified to be committee chairmen. Our greatest obstacle was the lack of opportunity to meet informally with fellow-artists—for in such contacts lay the real vitality of the conference.

Yet out of the morass of difficulties something gradually emerged. At the end of a week of outward turmoil and frustration we were surprised to find that we had been part of a wonderful experience. Aside from the resolutions adopted—for the establishment of an International Federation for the Visual Arts, for free circulation of artistic works, and so on—there developed a genuine awareness of the other fellow—a realization that winning a resolution sometimes meant losing a friend, that a resolution good for Connecticut is not necessarily good for Thailand, that the very size of the United States, with its vast number of artists, its state autonomy, and its conception of democratic government puts it in a class by itself.

We learned that there are no blanket solutions, but that friendliness and patience can overcome much hostility. And perhaps most important, we learned that we all value our freedom above everything else and our freedom to decide what freedom means to us. It was a week of contradictions and accomplishments, of naivete and connivance, of unexpected hostility and warming sympathy. Its value was intangible but real nevertheless, and the proof was in the

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eagerness with which we talked of meeting again.

It is singularly fitting that the conference was held in Venice, that city of contrasts where beauty and tawdriness rub elbows. Built on salt marshes, it is a monument to man's vision and defiance of obstacles. It rests on mud flats, but its bronze horses cavort unimpeded and the carved angels on the churches trumpet hosannas to the sky. The indescribable joy of creation is everywhere!

The German Generals

SWORD AND SWASTIKA. By Telford Taylor. Simon and Schuster. $5.

LIKE the so-called national character of the German people the famous general staff of their past armies belongs to those subjects about which much nonsense has been written. Both the admirers and the haters of the German officer corps usually glorify it in one way or the other, exaggerating either its virtues or its faults. It is all the more satisfying, therefore, to find the former chief counsel of that dubious performance, the trial of the war criminals at Nürnberg, coming forward with an objective work that perfectly achieves its limited purpose: to furnish the general reader with enough data in narrative form to enable him to approach and to consider the whole controversial subject intelligently.

Starting with a sketch of the origins of the German officer caste, its development during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and its curious survival of the World War I defeat, Mr. Taylor proceeds to the ingenious building up—with the connivance of Trotsky and Stalin—of a new skeleton army during the few years of the Weimar Republic. He then analyzes, with rare insight for a foreigner, the relationship between army and state leadership when, after the 1929 New York stock-market crash that shook the world, times became ever more critical. All of a sudden the swastika began to rise along with the unemployment figures. Until then Hitler's movement—which had the sympathy of many generals because it allegedly possessed "the power to make converts among the workers for the cause of nationalism"—had had no success whatever: after ten years of effort there were only 12 Nazis among 491 Reichstag deputies. But even after 1929 Hitler was unable to attract the workers.

The notion, later on widely accepted abroad, that the German people swept Hitler into power was sheer Nazi propaganda. The power was handed to Hitler from above at the very moment when the National Socialist Party was falling apart. The specter of a liberal, Social Democratic Germany—there was no Communist danger—was too much for the generals and the big industrialists. If their dated dreams of German might, of subject labor, and of dominating positions for the members of the old ruling classes had to be forced upon the German people, only Hitler and his henchmen would be ruthless enough to do the job. The aristocratic officers differed with him more often than not on manners, method, and timing, but they were in basic agreement with his goals and his anti-parliamentary pseudo-philosophy.

Mr. Taylor traces the ups and down of the unholy alliance of an archaic caste and a modern demagogue during the fateful years from 1933 until after the crushing of Poland in September, 1939. If anything, Hitler moved too fast for the professional soldiers. They figured that by 1944 or 1945 they would have restored German military might and could then face all possibilities with confidence. But they were unable to restrain Hitler. The Pope and Stalin had been the first to dignify his rule; the world had accepted his tearing up of the post-war treaties and his march into the Rhineland; the English were negotiating with him for a naval treaty. He moved from success to success on the international scene. And in Germany itself he had not hesitated to annihilate those of his followers who had wanted —prematurely, from his point of view —to dispose of the old officer caste. So until 1938 the generals had little to complain of. Only a few of them realized how their acquiescence in Hitler's lawless orgies of terror, the concentration camps, the pogroms, was sapping their moral strength, once their undisputed pride. But they were all busy building a new super-perfect army and stalemating the intrigues of Himmler and Göring, who craved all power for Hitler and themselves. What really mattered even to those generals who had come to despise and fear Hitler was to get their new mass army in shape.

With an eye to the essential Mr. Taylor pictures the attitude of the German General Staff during the decisive years 1938 and 1939. Here, with the accelerated course of events, his narrative makes exciting reading, though he never stoops to sensational writing. Mr. Taylor sees more clearly than others who have written about this period that if Chamberlain and Daladier had called Hitler's bluff in 1938, the Führer would in all probability have been done for. And it is with a sense of tragedy that we read of the generals' trust in the integrity of the French and English governments—the generals had no doubt that these governments would come to the rescue of Czechoslovakia! They had decided not to permit Hitler to plunge Germany into a general war for which it was not ready. Halder and Witzleben had set the date for their putsch—September 28, 1938—when the news came that Chamberlain would fly to Munich. It stopped them cold, and the next day Hitler proved the generals political fools. They were never to regain their self-assurance.

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and French secret service did not report to their governments that Germany was absolutely unprepared for a major conflagration, that only five fighting divisions and seven reserve divisions were guarding Germany's western frontier, while the mass of the Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe was deployed around Czechoslovakia. What, then, was the compelling reason for the surrender at Munich? The primitive Russian explanation that the idea was to push Hitler eastward is refuted by the events of the following year. But the archives in London and Paris have not yet been opened for full inspection. As far as the documentation goes, Munich is still a mystery.

Mr. Taylor's narrative closes before World War II began in earnest. His concluding chapter on the responsibility of the officer corps reads like the instruction of an efficient trial judge to the jurors. Here again he is to be congratulated for his impartiality and his skill in presenting highly complex situations with lucidity. His book is a timely contribution to today's debate about the rearmament of Germany.

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Letters of Stendhal

TO THE HAPPY FEW. Selected Letters of Stendhal. Introduced by Emmanuel Boudot-Lamotte. The Grove Press. $5.

"TO THE HAPPY FEW"—Stendhal's salutation to his friends and to those sensitive souls who, in the future, would understand him—is a selection of 225 letters and parts of letters from a monumental corespondence. M. Boudot-Lamotte's intention, he declares, has been to put together "significant pages that are beautiful by reason of their significance: pages, too, whose thousand touches reconstruct a bird's-eye view of the man who, by striving to understand himself, did much to deepen the understanding of the human heart." The annotations are copious and useful, especially many excerpts from "La Vie de Henri Brulard" relevant to situations and states of mind which the letters sometimes only hint at. The English of Norman Cameron's translation falls pleasantly on the ear.

On the whole these pages are less beautiful than M. Boudot-Lamotte thinks. For what they tell us of other times and other manners, or as an autobiographical record, they are not comparable to the best letters of Byron or Keats. Often they *are* engrossing, but they have confirmed me in heterodoxy: though he wrote two great novels, Stendhal has been overrated as a thinker by the disciples to whom his casual scribblings—they mount to the thousands and piety has catalogued them at Grenoble—are of vatic importance. The greatness of the novels lies in Stendhal's understanding of feeling and passion, and in that double view by which characters entirely involved with their own problems see themselves, from time to time, lucidly and objectively. In the same way the best of these letters are those in which he describes the passions which ravaged but never destroyed him, passions, however, on which, as a phrase will indicate or as the annotations attest, he could always shed a very dry light. On the rough draft of an anguished letter to Métilde Dembowski he writes, "Notions of throwing the whole thing over." And later, "Respectable women are as hussy-like as hussies."

Too often, however, his correspondence, as represented here, reveals the Stendhal addicted to generalizations about love or conduct or politics. The letters to his sister, Pauline, which make up almost one-third of the selection, are simply not very interesting. M. Boudot-Lamotte defines her as Stendhal's "chastest, tenderest, cruelest, and also most serious love." Nothing in them indicates any feeling approaching love. They were written by a young man recently come to Paris, poor, boastful, as yet without the friends and the influence he was determined to acquire. As a palliative to loneliness he formulated advice for the sister immured in the family circle in Grenoble, advice which is largely a mixture of rather worldly copy-book maxims and the empirical wisdom that abounds in the philosophical and pseudo-philosophical writing of the eighteenth century. Once Stendhal had embarked on a life dedicated to grand passions, and once he had established himself, so far as he ever was to establish himself, in the great world, this factitious concern with Pauline waned. She could not compete with the women who betrayed him regularly or who just as regularly did not want him; she could not even compete with his ceaseless intrigues to obtain a suitable government appointment.

To cease complaining. Many of these letters are very good. The three drafts of his letter to Balzac after the younger novelist's article on "La Chartreuse de Parme" are deeply moving. Or there is the stoic brevity of his reference to the malady which was to kill him: "I have been fairly successful in hiding my trouble. I consider that there is nothing ridiculous about dying in the street, provided one does not do it on purpose." His outpourings to Métilde Dembowski are a magnificent record of self-torment, self-analysis, and self-knowledge. The events he describes come to life, whether he is writing about the burning of Moscow or the tedious daily round of the last years at Civitavecchia. And some of his generalizations about the human condition illumine large areas of experience exactly as they light up entire chapters in the novels. Also, the Stendhalian egotism is never offensive. As M. Boudot-Lamotte points out, it is not "an excessive love of oneself but merely the habit of speaking of oneself. . . . In the meantime Stendhal had . . . clearly proved that 'egotism, if sincere,

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is a manner of depicting the human heart'." Certainly this book demonstrates that intense concern with the microcosm of the self may, on occasion, lead to self-knowledge and also to the kind of understanding necessary to great fiction. ERNEST JONES

Politics and Ethics

THE NEW SCIENCE OF POLITICS. By Eric Voegelin. The University of Chicago Press. $3.

LORD ACTON, A STUDY IN CONSCIENCE AND POLITICS. By Gertrude Himmelfarb. The University of Chicago Press. $3.75.

HERE are two unusually provocative and thoughtful short books. Eric Voegelin, a political scientist well versed in classical literature and in philosophy, offers in his Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures of 1951 an introduction to political science as understood before the rise of the positivistic and sociological schools of the last fifty years. Professor Voegelin leans rather heavily on theological concepts; he sees the predicament of modern times in the "gnostic" deification of man and society, in the expectation, without due regard for the limitations of man as a creature, of Messianic perfection here on earth and within history. This is in no way a new theory, but the author discusses it and its implications from an unusually broad background. Every reader will learn something from it. But though an eschatological element, a "messianism" secularized in the faith in progress and human betterment, forms part of the modern world, it is only one of its elements. Dr. Voegelin rightly believes that the English and American democracies represent the most hopeful and most firmly consolidated stratum of "civilizational tradition," but that is so because in their societies there is another and much more decisive element —namely, tolerance and freedom of thought rooted in the recognition of diversity, which unfortunately hardly penetrated in Germany, Russia, Asia, or Spain. The modern civilization of the West is based upon the rejection of dogmatic authority. In that connection Lord Acton rightly said that "the emancipation of conscience from authority is the main content of modern history." This emancipation of individual conscience from state and church, dogma and ideology, is one of the elements of strength in Anglo-American civilization, and the tragedy of Germany, Spain, or Russia is not their "Westernization" but their insufficient "Westernization."

Lord Acton, who never had any illusion about the weaknesses of human nature or about the moral dangers of spiritual or political power—as a Catholic moralist he opposed papal infallibility—has finally found, fifty years after his death, a worthy biographer. Dr. Himmelfarb, whose field is the intellectual history of nineteenth-century England, gives us here not a definitive biography of the great and solitary Victorian but a perceptive study, extremely well written, of a first-rate mind that probed even more deeply than Tocqueville into the issues of modern times. For all his apprehension about mass democracy, Acton was no prophet of doom. He was a deeply religious man; yet he did not regret the loss of authority, which so many of our contemporaries—and not only in the totalitarian countries—seem sometimes to think indispensable for the survival of morality.

Acton knew of the existence of evil. He opened his lecture on The History of Freedom in Antiquity with the words, "Liberty, next to religion, has been the motive of good deeds and the common pretext of crime," but the idea of liberty, nevertheless, remained for him the central principle of history. It did not depend on prosperity or material progress, on science or religion, on democracy or nationality. "All these things have been its tributaries and servants, but they have, in turn, been rivals and obstacles." Acton's liberalism was not founded in an exuberant optimism but in a sober commitment to a political faith that carries potentialities for disaster as well as the promise of improvement. While power corrupted, conscience could redeem; history was a tug of war between the two. "While conscience itself," writes Mrs. Himmelfarb, summing up Acton's belief, "was the metaphysical warrant for liberty, the conflict of consciences was its empirical security." In that sense again liberty in diversity, based upon tolerance and mutual respect, is one of the fundamental elements of modern Western civilization as it arose in seventeenth-century England and was expanded in eighteenth-century Anglo-America.

HANS KOHN

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE only way to pull the vast sprawl of 1952 films together is to throw most of them in a pile bearing the label "movies that failed through exploiting middle-brow attitudes about what makes a good movie." This leaves me with the following box-office stepchildren to list as my "ten best" films. It is difficult to say whether I liked or disliked a number of films that will appear on most other lists, since it was usually a case of being impressed with classy craftsmanship and bored by watching it pander to some popular notion about what makes an artistic wow. One such film, "Come Back, Little Sheba," went all out for sympathizing with underdogs; another, "Member of the Wedding," stuffed itself with odd "characters" of Dickensian proportions; "For

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bidden Games" rubbed amateur acting and untampered rural surroundings in your eyes. In each case, I felt I was supposed to applaud the "crutches" that are currently leaned on in cinema, and that, for me, negated some good things about the films.

"The Strange Ones." A macabre melodrama about incestuous adolescence; rates top honors in every film department for its tough-minded, unself-consciously clumsy but delicate treatment of a subject a movie crew could easily have murdered. Turns up one fascinatingly grotesque image after another; set in the small, special world of a fantastically disordered bedroom, it works with a sick brother and his sister who wander about in bathrobes seeking some new gadget or ritual for kicks; crowds the whole tremulous desperation of two deeply affectionate, anarchic little beasts into the performances of Stephane and Dermuthe, whose acting of the queer and fantastic should be studied by the overrated Julie Harris–Shirley Booth–Marlon Brando academy of overplaying.

"Oh, Amelia." A fifty-year-old French bedroom farce refashioned by Claude Autant-Lara with split-second timing, extreme gaiety, and ingenuity in repeatedly compromising a heroine without actually corrupting her; though it may have been slapped together by a group of aloofly amused actors during their lunch hour, it has the ridiculous charm of a Punch and Judy show and the innocent, pell-mell vulgarity of a Sennett comedy.

"The Turning Point." A tingling, rather moving example of the half-serious gangster film that Hollywood does better than anything else in its repertoire; particularly good for its unsentimental handling of cutthroat competitors in moments of duress, when their ambitious careers are about to crumble around them; also casts a touching spotlight on New York-type friendships: a cop turning virtuous but trying to play fair with his gangster friends; an attorney's girl friend methodically setting up a romance with his best chum but being very concerned about not losing the attorney's affections; a triumph of crisp acting (Edmund O'Brien, Tom Tully), vigorous camera work, lean writing.

"Don't Bother to Knock." An unpolished, persuasively written little melodrama about a blonde baby sitter drifting in cuckoo-land in a big-city hotel; Richard Widmark's acting of a grousing, ornery, efficient individual waltzing into a pick-up romance and then finding himself unable to cope with the personality of the girl; Monroe's amateurish manner and childishly blank expression used without the usual glamour treatment in the character of a paranoiac refugee from a small town; the best naturalistic photography on a drab American hotel since "When Strangers Meet" and a job of direction (Roy Baker) that seems to dig its way into stale hotel atmosphere through room radios, between plastic Venetian blinds, and over ugly ashtrays.

"Something to Live For." A soap opera that started with a story that was practically nothing and ended up as a strangely disturbing, clean, uncluttered picture of alcoholism; mark up another score for the camera magic of Director George Stevens, the only genuine pioneer working in current films; he evokes a rich lather of romance with his slow, imaginative use of looming close-ups, overlapping dissolves, filtered camera effects, and oddly contrived compositions; story-telling images bring out the inner problems of characters in a purely cinematic way: two members of Alcoholics Anonymous trembling through a party, with the camera insistently hovering over trays of Martinis and highballs; creditable acting by Milland and Fontaine.

"Five Fingers." In its literate, satirical way, this spy melodrama was the most unusual thriller since Hitchcock's first low-budget films; almost totally a product of witty scripting, it built up incredible tension and speed with elegantly comicalized dialogue, neatly turned portraits of war-time diplomats with their brains at half-mast, and practically no outward violence; a great job of perfectly controlled, suave acting by James Mason; wonderful bits of unscrupulous carrying-on: the slow awakening of Countess Danielle Darrieux to the possibilities of being a valet's mistress once she finds out he has a priceless pair of safe-cracking hands.

"Limelight." A sentiment-ridden tragi-comedy with enough of Chaplin's grace and absurdity as a funny man, and Raphael-like taste for visual qualities to compensate for the slow, rumpsprung style of story-telling.

"The Sell-Out." A fast thriller off the top of the news, with perceptive atmospheric bits of barroom drama that fall quietly into place, two plausible performances (Audrey Trotter, John Hodiak), and the feeling throughout of

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something chanced upon rather than confected.

The following also placed: "Room for One More," "Boots Malone," "Brandy for the Parson," "House Across the Street," "Young Man with Ideas," "Casque d'Or," "Scaramouche," "Wait Till the Sun Shines, Nellie," "Beauty and the Devil," "Apache War Smoke," "Pennywhistle Blues," "Jour de Fête."

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

MUSICIANS' lives have always been news, which it used to be the publicity man's job to get into the papers. What we have today—and what the present-day publicity operator's job is to get into the news magazine that originated it and is its chief publication medium—is the news-story with built-in critical estimate. An outstanding example is the story of the Monteux career as that of one of the giants to whom recognition has come belatedly, with its built-in estimate of Monteux as one of the giants. This one has been kept rolling for several years by one writer after another incapable of hearing Monteux's repeatedly demonstrated mediocrity, until it is now part of the body of accepted belief in terms of which most writing about music and musicians is done.

Only recently launched is the story about the soprano Milanov as someone who, having at last achieved the control she didn't have of her beautiful voice years ago, now occupies "the long-vacant throne of Rosa Ponselle" and, with the retirement of Flagstad, has "the grandest operatic feminine voice at the Metropolitan"; and one wonders whether this one will stand up very long in the face of the painfully audible fact that what Milanov has learned to control is a voice that has lost all its former beauty. As for the grandest feminine voice at the Metropolitan, rereading my report of Milanov's phenomenal singing in a performance of "Norma" in 1944, only a few days after her tremolo-ridden stridency in "Un Ballo in Maschera," I came to a similar report of Steber's singing in "Figaro." Previously, I wrote, "she had begun every performance with a strong tremolo which sometimes had cleared up and sometimes had not. This time, however, the very first tones of *Porgi amor* were clear and lovely; and her technical security continued to produce such tones, which her musical taste molded into long, continuous, and exquisite phrases." Since then I have reported other occasions when the slow vibrato in Steber's singing has become a clouding tremulousness, but also occasions—notably a performance of "Così Fan Tutte" last year—when her lustrous voice has been clear and she has done what I consider the grandest singing one can hear at the Metropolitan today.

As it happens, that singing—with moments of the tremulous shrillness—is heard in Columbia's recording of the Metropolitan "Così" and is its chief excellence, others being Guarrera's singing and Stiedry's pacing and phrasing of the music. Alvary sings agreeably; Roberta Peters (replacing Munsel as Despina) has a voice I don't find attractive, but produces it more freely and evenly than in the "Rigoletto" I heard last year; Thebom sings well with a voice that has worn a little threadbare; but Tucker's cold voice and tightness are again damaging to a part which calls for a lyric tenor's warmth and ease, such as one hears in Richard Lewis's singing in the "highlights" of the 1950 Glyndebourne Festival production on the earlier RCA Victor record. On this record Sena Jurinac doesn't achieve Steber's grandeur (nor does she manage all the notes in the florid passages of *Come scoglio,* the trills in *Per pietà,* that Steber does); but her singing is nevertheless very beautiful; Thebom's voice has more velvet left; the voices of the men—Lewis, Erich Kunz, and Mario Borriello—are warm and sumptuous; and to all this vocal warmth there is added the warmth of the recorded orchestral sound, as against the cold, veiled, sharp sound from the Columbia records. Moreover, the Victor record gives the music with the original Italian words that fit and go with it so delightfully, whereas the Columbia records give it with English words—"those silly words," as a writer I know characterized them angrily—which turn out at microphone range to be ear-jarring words, and a monstrosity with Alvary's foreign accent. One wishes Victor would issue the entire 1950 Glyndebourne performance if it was recorded, or, if not, an LP dubbing of the pre-war Glyndebourne recording.

As it happens also, the better singing that Milanov was still capable of last year is to be heard in Victor's "Il Trovatore." With it one hears singing by Bjoerling which demonstrates that while Tucker has been getting the news-and-picture-magazine build-ups Bjoerling has been the great tenor of our time. And the singing of Warren and Barbieri, the work of the Robert Shaw chorus and the assembled orchestra under Renato Cellini's direction, the excellent reproduction contribute to making this a superb version of Verdi's wonderful opera.

Capitol's "Il Trovatore" offers excellent singing by the tenor Gino Sarri, good singing by the baritone Antonio Manca Serra, and fair singing by the mezzo-soprano Sylvia Sawyer, but bad singing by Stella Roman, and playing by the Rome Opera orchestra under Luigi Ricci's direction that is astonishingly inferior to that of the Victor orchestra and poorly reproduced.

Urania's "La Forza del Destino" has Adriana Guerrini—with a voice that is lovely in its lower range but cold and shrill in its upper range—singing with a sustained legato that is in marked contrast with Caniglia's explosiveness in the old Cetra version; Giuseppe Cam-

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pora sings better than Massini; Anselmo Colzani and Giuseppe Modesti are as good as Tagliabue and Pasero; Armando La Rosa Parodi conducts a better performance than Marinuzzi; and its recorded sound has a spaciousness, liveness, and naturalness which the Cetra dubbing from 78s doesn't produce.

London's "Aida" has excellent singing by Tebaldi, Stignani, Aldo Protti, and Dario Caselli; fine work by the chorus and orchestra of the Academy of Saint Cecilia, Rome; sensitive conducting by Erede; recorded sound that has London's characteristic depth in space and solidity, though also London's characteristic veiled violins. Its blight is the singing of Del Monaco whenever he is required to produce anything lower and softer than a ringing high B flat.

CONTRIBUTORS

DOROTHEA S. GREENBAUM, sculptor and founder-member of the Sculptors' Guild and Artists' Equity Association, was a delegate to the International Conference of Artists in Venice.

FRANZ HOELLERING is the author of two novels, "The Defenders" and "Furlough."

HANS KOHN is professor of history at the City College of New York.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Discrimination in Federal Employment

Dear Sirs: I wonder how many people know that some 400,000 persons are now barred from employment by the E. C. A. and other federal agencies operating outside the United States. For practical purposes they are also barred from consideration by any government agency. These are the men and women who during the past twenty years have been so unwise as to contribute money to any one of several hundred organizations listed by the Department of Justice as subversive. . . .

When every person who has contributed a dollar to fight social injustice is barred from federal employment, the path has been cleared, to that extent, for the coming of something horribly evil.

Madison, Wis. THOMAS R. AMLIE

A Personal Opinion

Dear Sirs: The November 8 issue of *The Nation* contained an article by Arthur Garfield Hays entitled The Rosenberg Case. Mr. Hays is identified in an editorial note as "general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union." The statements in Mr. Hays's article represent his personal views only; he was not speaking for the A. C. L. U.

ALAN REITMAN, Assistant Director,
American Civil Liberties Union
New York

Civil Liberties Conference

Dear Sirs: An extremely important conference on the American Bill of Rights is going to be held on January 30 and 31. Sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—an organization set up at Princeton in 1951 to combat the current threats to civil liberties—the two-day conference, which will be devoted to a discussion of the present state of civil liberties, will open on Friday, January 30, at Carnegie Hall with a speech by a well-known Senator and a dramatization of the events leading up to the adoption of the Bill of Rights. Four forums will be held on Saturday morning at the First Presbyterian Church—on Academic Freedom, Freedom of the Arts, The Political Use of Fear, and Loyalty and the Fifth Amendment. Speakers will include Matthew Josephson, I. F. Stone, Carey McWilliams, Scott Buchanan, J. Raymond Walsh, Derke Bodde, Robert S. Cohen, H. H. Wilson, Dr. Lawrence J. Roose, Judge Hubert Delany, Alexander Meiklejohn, and Thomas I. Emerson. After a buffet lunch the conference will close with a discussion of the steps that can be taken to restore the full protection of the Bill of Rights to the American people; among the speakers at this final session will be Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter White, and the Reverend Paul L. Lehman, chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

One of the objects of the conference is to draw up a petition citing the governmental infringements on constitutional guaranties. This will be submitted to the President, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and Congress in the form of a demand for redress of grievances.

The sponsors of the conference, which is to be called The Bill of Rights —Sublime Risk of Free Men, include Stringfellow Barr, Reverend George A. Buttrick, Earl Dickerson, Albert Einstein, Rabbi Ira Eisenstein, Fowler Harper, Leo Lionni, Reverend John A. Mackay, Clarence E. Pickett, Reverend Edwin McNeill Poteat, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Ben Shahn, William L. Shirer, and Reverend Paul Tillich.

Anyone interested in attending the Carnegie Hall meeting and/or the forum sessions should address their inquiries to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York 1, or call OXford 5-2863.

MALCOLM R. EVANS,
Spencer Memorial
Brooklyn Presbyterian Church

Pleased Reader

Dear Sirs: I'm sorry, but I feel that I must vehemently protest against the publication in your issue of December 27 of the poems by Abbie Evans. The poems are delicate and positively intelligible—infinitely beneath *The Nation's* time-honored standards of poetic incoherence and incomprehensibility.

As for the rest of the issue, it's grand, a fitting closing number to a year of progressive, social-minded journalism.

SOLON DE LEON
Long Island City, N. Y.

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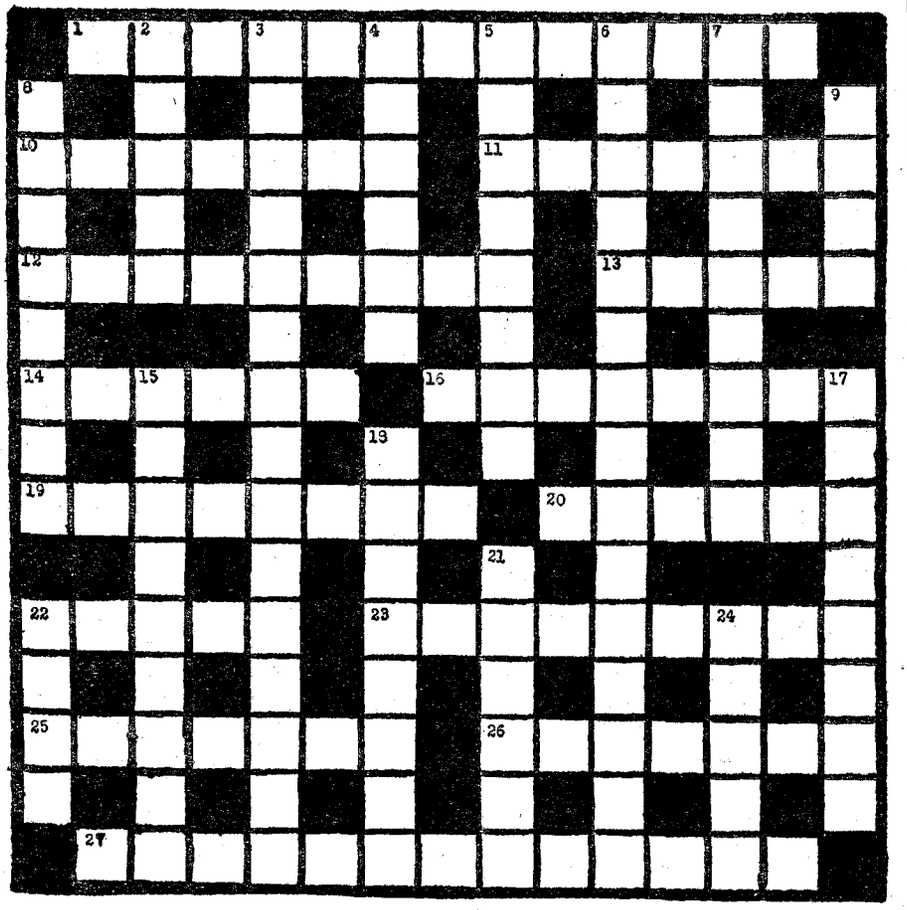
Crossword Puzzle No. 499

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Not the driver species of the tropics —they don't fight! (13)
10 A sort of bomb with an uneasy end for the cockney bird. (7)
11 Wound stitches. (7)
12 "L" engineer. (The water colors are blue and white, however.) (4, 5)
13 Stays sort of 11 without W? (5)
14 Metal posters in the mountains? (6)
16 The kind that binds things together isn't punishment. (8)
19 People scorn to behave like them. (8)
20 Swindle sheet out of it? Blanket more likely. (6)
22 The way a German agrees very loudly with a following is proper. (5)
23 21 takes gin, but isn't too badly shaken to find its bearings! (9)
25 Nothing separates Christmas time and the spirit like propriety. (7)
26 A pair of sixes would make this part cutting. (7)
27 Hotel detectives? (You'd know there'd be a hitch with one!) (5, 8)

DOWN

2 If you mean a dipper, you might put water in front. (5)
3 Had giraffe races made official, perhaps. (6, 1'8)
4 The way to excite a frenzy of the damned. (6)
5 There's a taste of bitterness in it, as in most stabs in the back. (8)
6 Not exactly descriptive of a recommended study of Pope. (15)
7 Tips the hat in the gateway, perhaps. (9)
8 Leaves for good, when a bad son's reformed. (8)
9 Employs an ungrooved 11 in its makeup. (4)
15 By virtue of position. (2, 7)
17 Putting on a layer of fat? (8)
18 St. Martin gets to pass thus. (8)
21 A part of one's clothes a collection of Zoroastrianism exhibits. (6)
22 One would expect to tire of this color. (4)
24 One that makes an attempt to become a cathedral city? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 498

ACROSS:—1 CHROMATIC SCALE; 8 INCARCERATED; 11 CUBA; 13 WHIRLS; 14 INTERNED; 16 LEADSMAN; 17 GROUSE; 19 ICES; 20 SPEED ZONES; 22 MALNUTRITION; 23 and 10 MONDAY'S CHILD IS FAIR OF FACE.

DOWN:—1 CLIFF DWELLINGS; 2 RECRIMINATES; 3 MORE OR LESS; 4 TEE OFF; 5 CHANCING; 6 CLEF; 7 SALAD DRESSINGS; 9 QUINQUENNIAD; 12 TETRAZZINI; 15 RAMPANCY; 18 HECTIC; 21 PARD.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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